

However, the incentives failed to pull as many migrants to the Far North as Soviet officials desired. People were reluctant because of the region's harsh climate and remoteness from population clusters. Each year, as many as half of the people in the Far North migrated back to other regions of the country and had to be replaced by other immigrants, especially young males willing to work in the region for a short period. One method the Soviet government used was to send a brigade of young volunteers, known as *Komsomol*, during school vacations to help construct projects. An example is the Baikal-Amur Railroad, which runs for 3,145 kilometers (1,955 miles) from Taishet to Sovetskaia Gavan.

The collapse of the Soviet Union ended policies that encouraged interregional migration. In the transition to a market-based economy, Russian government officials no longer dictate "optimal" locations for factories.

BRAZIL. Another large country, Brazil, has encouraged interregional migration. Most Brazilians live in a string of large cities near the Atlantic Coast, including Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Porto Alegre. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have become two of the world's largest cities. In contrast, Brazil's tropical interior is very sparsely inhabited.

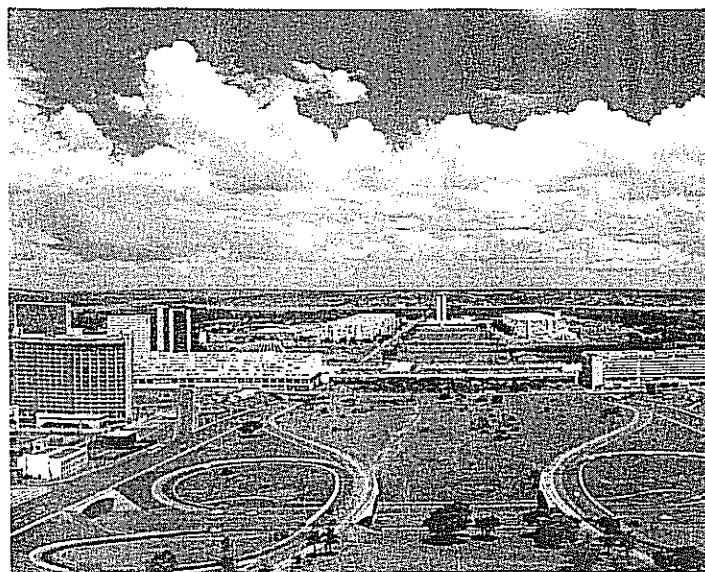
To increase the attractiveness of the interior, the government moved its capital in 1960 from Rio to a newly built city called Brasília, situated 1,000 kilometers (600 miles) from the Atlantic Coast. From above, Brasília's design resembles an airplane, with government buildings located at the center of the city and housing arranged along the "wings."

At first, Brasília's population grew slowly, because government workers and foreign embassy officials resented the forced move from Rio, one of the world's most animated cities. In recent years, thousands of people have migrated to Brasília in search of jobs. In a country with rapid population growth, many people will migrate where they think they can find employment. Many of these workers could not afford housing in Brasília and were living instead in hastily erected shacks on the outskirts of the city.

INDONESIA. Since 1969, the Indonesian government has paid for the migration of more than 5 million people, primarily from the island of Java, where nearly two-thirds of its people live, to less populated islands. Under the government program, families receive 2 hectares (5 acres) of land, materials to build a house, seeds and pesticides, and food to tide them over until the crops are ready.

The number of participants has declined in recent years, primarily because of environmental concerns. Some families moved to land that could not support intensive agriculture, whereas others disrupted the habitats of indigenous peoples. The program siphoned off only a very small percentage of Java's population growth during the past quarter-century.

EUROPE. The pattern of interregional migration throughout Western Europe is reflected in differences in per capita income and unemployment in different regions. The regions with net immigration are also the ones with the highest per capita incomes.



Brasília. Brazil's capital was moved here in 1960. Since then, thousands of immigrants have arrived in search of jobs. Many live in poor-quality housing on the edge of the city, a contrast to the carefully planned central area in the foreground.

Even countries that occupy relatively small land areas have important interregional migration trends. People in Italy migrate from the south, known as the Mezzogiorno, to the north in search of job opportunities. Compared to the Mezzogiorno, Italy's north benefits from relatively rich agricultural land and a strong industrial base. The Mezzogiorno comprises 40 percent of Italy's land area and contains 35 percent of the population but only 24 percent of the national income. Per capita income is nearly twice as high in the north as in the south, and unemployment rates are less than 5 percent in the north, compared to more than 20 percent in the south.

Similarly, people in the United Kingdom are migrating because of regional differences in job opportunities, although the pattern is the opposite of Italy's: economic growth is in the south, whereas the north is declining. The northern regions of the United Kingdom were the first in the world to enter the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century. Today, many of the region's industries are no longer competitive in the global economy. On the other hand, industries in the south and east—especially the region around London—are relatively healthy.

Regional differences in economic conditions within European countries may become greater with increased integration of the continent's economy. Regions closer to European markets, such as the south of Britain and the north of Italy, may hold a competitive advantage over more peripheral regions.

INDIA. A number of governments limit the ability of people to migrate from one region to another. For example, Indians require a permit to migrate—or even to visit—the State of Assam in the northeastern part of the country. The restrictions, which date from the British colonial era, are designed to protect the ethnic identity of Assamese by limiting the ability of outsiders to compete for jobs and purchase land. Because Assam is situated on the border with Bangladesh, the restrictions also limit international migration.

Migration Within One Region

Although interregional migration attracts considerable attention, far more people move within the same region, which is *intra*regional migration. Since 1800, the most prominent type of intraregional migration in the world has been from rural to urban areas. Less than 5 percent of the world's people lived in urban areas in 1800, compared to nearly half today.

Migration from Rural to Urban Areas

Urbanization began in the 1800s in the countries of Europe and North America, which were undergoing rapid industrial development. The percentage of people living in urban areas in the United States, for example, increased from 5 percent in 1800 to 50 percent in 1920. Today, approximately three-fourths of the people in the United States and other more developed countries live in urban areas.

Migration from rural to urban areas has skyrocketed in recent years in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Studies conducted in a variety of less developed countries show that migration from rural areas accounts for nearly half of the population increase in urban areas, and the natural increase (excess of births over deaths) accounts for the remainder. Worldwide, more than 20 million people are estimated to migrate each year from rural to urban areas.

Migration to one of the world's largest cities, São Paulo, Brazil, has reached 300,000 people per year. Many of these migrants cannot find housing in the city and must live in squatter settlements, known in Brazil as *favelas*. The favelas may lack electricity, running water, and paved streets (see Chapter 13).

Like interregional migrants, most people who move from rural to urban areas seek economic advancement. They are pushed from rural areas by declining opportunities in agriculture and are pulled to the cities by the prospect of work in factories or in service industries.

Migration from Urban to Suburban Areas

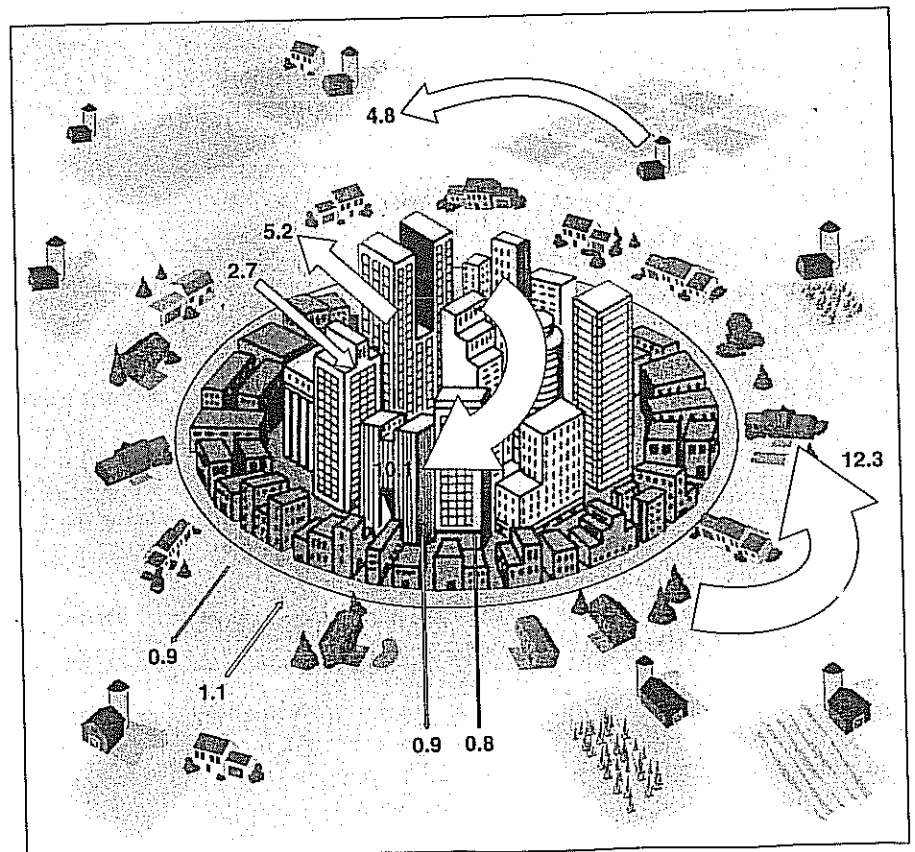
In more developed countries, most intraregional migration is from central cities out to the suburbs. Twice as many Americans migrate from central cities to suburbs each year than migrate from suburbs to central cities (Figure 3-14). Comparable rates of suburbanization are found in Canada, the United Kingdom, and other Western European countries. The population of most central cities has declined in North America and Western Europe, whereas suburbs have grown rapidly.

The major reason for the large-scale migration to the suburbs is not related to employment, as was the case with other forms of migration. For most people, migration to suburbs does not coincide with changing jobs. Instead, people are pulled by a suburban lifestyle.

Suburbs offer the opportunity to live in a detached house rather than an apartment, surrounded by a private yard where children can play safely. A garage or driveway on the property guarantees space to park automobiles at no charge. Suburban schools tend to be more modern, better equipped, and safer than those in cities. Automobiles and trains enable people to live in suburbs yet have access to jobs, shops, and recreational facilities throughout the urban area (see Chapter 13).

As a result of suburbanization, the territory occupied by urban areas has rapidly expanded (see Chapter 13). To accommodate

FIGURE 3-14 U.S. intraregional migration. Figures show average annual migration (in millions) during the 1990s. The largest flow by far was from central cities to suburbs. Slightly more people migrated from urban to rural areas than from rural to urban areas.



suburban growth, farms on the periphery of urban areas are converted to housing developments, where new roads, sewers, and other services must be built.

Migration from Metropolitan to Nonmetropolitan Areas

During the late twentieth century, the more developed countries of North America and Western Europe witnessed a new trend. For the first time, more people in these regions immigrated into rural areas than emigrated out of them. Net migration from urban to rural areas is called counterurbanization.

Counterurbanization results in part from very rapid expansion of suburbs. The boundary where suburbs end and the countryside begins cannot be precisely defined. However, most counterurbanization represents genuine migration from cities and suburbs to small towns and rural communities.

Like suburbanization, people move from urban to rural areas for lifestyle reasons. People are lured to rural areas by the prospect of swapping the frantic pace of urban life for the opportunity to live on a farm where they can own horses or grow vegetables. However, most people who move to farms do not earn their living from agriculture. Instead, they work in nearby factories, small-town shops, or other services. Counterurbanization can be seen in much of the United States. Nonmetropolitan counties in the Northeast, South, Midwest, and West have net immigration (Figure 3-15).

With modern communications and transportation systems, no location in a more developed country is truly isolated, either economically or socially. Computers enable us to work anywhere and still have access to an international network. We can obtain money at any time from a conveniently located electronic transfer machine rather than by going to a bank building. We can select clothing from a mail-order catalog, place the

order by telephone, pay by credit card, and have the desired items delivered within a few days. We can follow the fortunes of our favorite baseball teams on television anywhere in the country, thanks to satellite dishes and computer webcasts.

Many migrants from urban to rural areas are retired people who are attracted by access to leisure activities, such as fishing and hiking. Retirement communities—in reality, small towns restricted to older people, typically over age 50—appeal to retired people who like to participate in recreational activities. In France, some older people migrate from Paris to the rural villages where they were born, whereas others are attracted to the mild climate in the south of the country along the Mediterranean coast.

Overall, counterurbanization has stopped in the United States, as roughly the same number of people migrate from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas as from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas. Modest levels of in-migration into rural areas in much of the United States have been offset by strong out-migration from rural areas in a tier extending through North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and the western parts of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas (refer to Figure 3-15). The economy of this region has been hurt by poor agricultural conditions. The price of farm products has declined, and many farmers have gone bankrupt. Although farmers constitute a small percentage of the labor force, they play an important role in the economy of rural areas. For example, the typical farmer borrows large sums of money from local banks and buys expensive equipment from local stores.

Future migration trends are unpredictable in more developed countries, because future economic conditions are difficult to forecast. Have these countries reached long-term equilibrium, in which approximately three-fourths of the people live in urban areas and one-fourth in rural areas? Will counterurbanization resume in the future because people prefer to live in rural areas? Is the decline of the rural economy reversible?

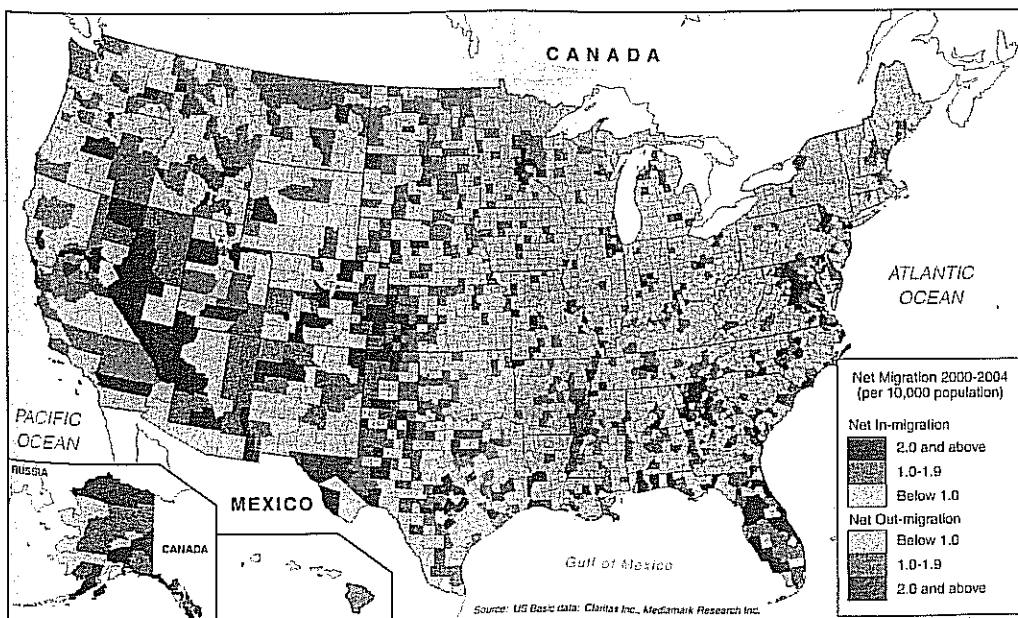


FIGURE 3-15 U.S. net migration by county. Rural counties in the Great Plains states between North Dakota and West Texas have experienced substantial net out-migration, primarily because of perceived lack of job opportunities in agricultural-based communities. On the other hand, rural counties in the Southwest and Florida have had substantial net immigration, because these areas have been perceived as attractive environments.